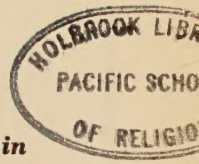
Social Progress



It becomes the duty of churches to be zealous in the protection of the rights and freedoms promised by our religious and political heritage, and to be vigilant with respect to . . . the erosion of essential human rights by a narrow definition of patriotism . . . and infringements upon the rights of minority groups.

—General Assembly Pronouncements, 1955

Patriotism on the Far Right

APRIL 1956

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Social Progress

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From This Vantage Point...

"TESTING THE SPIRITS"

THE *Letter to Presbyterians* from the General Council in that angry, insecure year of 1953 sounded a note of warning which has been too easy to forget in these more placid times:

"There is growing up over against Communism a fanatical negativism. . . . Our national house, cleansed of one demon, would invite by its very emptiness the entrance of seven others. In the case of a national crisis this emptiness could, in the high-sounding name of security, be occupied with ease by a Fascist tyranny."

As the present rulers of the U.S.S.R. relax the frown in Communism's "Western countenance" and discredit the Stalinist brand of aggression, it becomes even more necessary to be vigilant toward ingression from the American right.

In such a time as this, the extremists dig deep to find a more solid basis of operation than the fear and indignation which flare up among people whenever the cold war gets hot. When the leaders of these groups cannot depend upon fear and insecurity to substantiate their claims, they fall back on a more respectable foundation. Today it is found in a strain of American religion which, despite corruption in the current revival, still has the aroma of an authentic Christian-democratic tradition.

Thus is provided a foundation of piety and spirituality which is likely to have greater longevity and substance than the momentary anger which breaks out during a period of crisis.

The concern of the Church in this matter is obvious. The Church can and should play a vital role in raising the level of public opinion. An enlightened citizenry is the best defense against the extremists and totalitarians in our midst. But even more—when the campaigns of extremists are waged in the name of "Christianity" and "anti-Communism," church members must be made aware of the irresponsibility of such campaigns. An informed and courageous Protestantism can do much to help make the waters of public opinion clear and healthy once again.

In this issue Gordon Hall, who will be remembered as the author of *The Hate Campaign Against the UN* (The Beacon Press, 1953), has provided some valuable documentation on several movements which use a Christian label. He also tells the story of other groups which, while not so "Christianly" motivated, are, nevertheless, calculated to appeal to church men and women on the basis of "the blessed heritage of freedom we still enjoy in this independent republic" (H. H. Calvin's 1955 campaign letter for a United States Day).

Mr. Hall is a competent free-lance researcher who makes his home in Boston, but travels extensively to visit the leaders, attend the meetings, and amass literature in this field. The present study, made on special assignment for SOCIAL PROGRESS, *is only a sampling.* A large volume would be required to deal fully with the multitude of groups in this category. For the most part he has presented the record itself as sufficient evidence. Organizations and leaders speak for themselves, and the case rests upon their own published testimony.

The pronouncements of the General Assembly in recent years have laid down the social concerns of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., on the firm Biblical and theological bases of the Reformed tradition which we espouse. Those concerns have been diametrically opposite to the calumny of extremist movements against the Bill of Rights, the United Nations, liberal trade and immigration policies, racial and religious minorities.

We deem it highly important to alert the Church to the potential and actual dangers of religiosity wedded to any political or social movement, whether liberal or reactionary. "Not every one who says . . . , 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter the kingdom of heaven"; and while we do not claim to enter before others, we cannot help making cause against those who call upon Christ while peddling the wares of hate and violence.

It is no purpose of this issue to incite alarm. Many of the almost five hundred organizations now maneuvering from an extreme right perspective are small and inconsequential. A healthy Church, grounded in authentic faith and actively applying valid insights to the criticism and reformation of society, has nothing to fear from this quarter. However, in these times, it is perhaps the duty of Christian education to admonish the Church to "test the spirits to see whether they are of God."

—The SEA Staff

PATRIOTISM on the Far Right

GORDON D. HALL'S *Documentary Analysis of Extremist Groups*

WHILE few histories of this period can be expected to omit the name of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, it is doubtful that any will chronicle the histories of the myriad of extremist forces which helped create the social climate that made McCarthyism possible in the first place. Of necessity historians cover much ground, and Senator McCarthy is certain to suffice as the example of how America came perilously close to pursuing a fatal and reckless anti-Communist policy, especially inside our own borders.

It might be argued that such matters are best left to the judgment of qualified historians. After all, Senator McCarthy has been trimmed to size, and, temporarily at least, he is off the front pages of the daily press. But this is an election year, and extremist movements all over the country, while bitter over the Wisconsin Senator's decline from grace, show little inclination to call it quits. Whatever else may be said of the great majority of the rank and file of these movements, it must be admitted that they are dedicated and sincere. What opportunism exists can usually be traced to certain leaders of the movements.

But even if 1956 were not a crucial election year, there is a need to sample the activities on the extreme Right. Concentration on the Communist problem in the last decade has so absorbed the American people that the rebirth of movements at the opposite end of the political spectrum has gone virtually unnoticed. In a sense, extremists on the far Right have been the direct beneficiaries of a decade of utter absorption with a challenge that could have been met a good deal more effectively by the application of restraint, charity, and faith in our own democratic institutions.

Analysis of the extreme Right in the United States is difficult at best. Diversity of approach and method seriously complicates discussion. In fairness, the conscious bitter-enders must be separated from the fellow travelers and dupes, and a dedicated

and sincere rank and file distinguished from some of the cunning and opportunistic leadership. Extremists themselves further complicate discussion by exaggerating their impact on public opinion, while others resort to secrecy in an effort to ward off possible "penetration" of their organizations by "leftist elements."

An advertisement in the August, 1955, issue of *Free Men Speak*, a New Orleans extremist sheet[1] presently developing "third party" sentiment, indicates rather clearly the diversity of approach of rightist movements in the U.S. The advertisement, sponsored by a San Francisco group known as Liberty & Property,[2] drew attention to the publication of the *First National Directory* of "rightist" groups and publications in the U.S. Described as the "only book of its kind anywhere!" the directory contains the names of:

"Anti-Communist and antisocialist groups!
Religious groups!
Libertarian groups!
Anti-internationalist groups!
Antifluoridation groups!
States' rights groups!"

The advertisement promised "over 500 listings—cross-referenced" at less than one-third cent per name, asking, "You already know your enemies, BUT do you know your friends?"

The publishers, undoubtedly uneasy because of the many hoodlum elements listed under the "anti-Communist" and other labels,[3] included this statement in the "Foreword" of the *First National Directory:*

> "The mere listing of a name herein does not imply acceptance of or even concurrence with its viewpoint by any other listed name, including that of the publisher, in any way whatsoever. The one and only thing in common of the within names is that they all represent a protest of some sort to prevailing 'leftist' political and/or social trends. For this reason, they are all grouped together in this volume as 'rightist.' Points of disagreement are almost as common as points of agreement, however."

This statement may serve to ease the uneasy conscience of the officials of Liberty & Property, but in the literature designed to stimulate the sales of the *First National Directory*, it is made plain that the publishers are in harmony with all the groups listed. A typical appeal letter begins:

> "You have received this letter and the enclosed circular because you have shown yourself to be an American who is deeply interested in domestic politics and foreign affairs.
>
> "Over the past quarter century, springing up from the fertile soil

[1] *Free Men Speak*, published every three to four weeks by Free Men Speak, Inc., 7314 Zimple Street, New Orleans 18, La.

[2] Liberty & Property, P.O. Box 180, San Francisco 1, Calif.

[3] On page 21, for example, the *First National Directory* lists the Realpolitical Institute, P.O. Box 1785, Chicago 90, Ill. Beside the listing are the symbols "c" and "i," meaning "anti-Communist" and "anti-internationalist." In reality, the Realpolitical Institute lays stress on "aggressive, total political action against internationalism, pacifism, Communism, and liberalism," employing the slogan, "White Man, Awake—the Hour Is Late." In a letter to the author of this article, dated December 9, 1955, the Institute's manager, Max Nelson, wrote: "All of us are in our twenties and thirties—all of us have political police records of one sort or another—all of us have fought for American nationalism on the streets. Ours is a radical, revolutionary attitude. . . ."

of a freedom-loving American people, more than one thousand grass-roots organizations have risen in outspoken protest to the internationalist and left-wing trends of American politics. For this reason, they are called 'rightist.'

"These militant groups are important because they represent some ten million Americans who are determined to combat and destroy the twin subversive forces of internationalism and Marxist liberalism.

"They range in size from a few individuals to many thousands. They range in goals from philosophical anarchy to Social Credit. But each and every one of these groups is anti-Communist and therefore pro-American.

"Until recently, there had been no compilation or partial systematization of these groups. With the publication of the *First National Directory*, however, most of these organizations are now at your finger tips."

Ironically, a real service to the American people is performed by the San Francisco "patriots," though not in the manner intended. Some of the groups included, because of the local character of their activity, would be otherwise difficult to observe and identify from the outside.

Many of the rightist groups sanctify themselves with impressive, orthodox-sounding names and symbols. Behind these façades of "respectability," a movement of questionable "Christian" and "American" orientation may be operating.

The Christian Educational Association

THE Christian Educational Association is a good example of an extremist movement employing the "Christian" and "anti-Communist" symbols. Publishers of *Common Sense*, a semimonthly newspaper, this Union, N. J., organization consistently debases the word "Christian," and although *Common Sense* bears the label "The Nation's Anti-Communist Newspaper," it consistently injures the constructive struggle against Communist tyranny.

The Christian Educational Association is the creation of Conde McGinley, a small, ruddy-faced man, now in his sixties. That he is able to communicate both dedication and sincerity to his followers is attested to by the following:

1. Though McGinley is a relative newcomer in rightist circles, having begun his "crusade" as late as 1946, *Common Sense* (originally a mimeographed sheet called *Think*) is now printed on his own presses with an

average of 50,000 circulation per issue.

2. Despite an extremely hostile local press, McGinley has remained in Union, expanding his movement from a dingy side-street store front to a fourteen-room stone building at 530 Chestnut Street.

3. Though friction is commonplace among extremists on the Right, McGinley gets on exceedingly well with his competitors as well as his followers. *Common Sense* regularly features articles by leaders of other movements.

Before turning to specific examples of the abuse of both the Christian and anti-Communist symbols employed by the Christian Educational Association, it may be helpful to briefly review the background of leader McGinley.

This man has spent the better part of his adult life away from his native state of Texas. The 1930's were without doubt the turning point in his life, the depression wiping out his restaurant business in New Jersey. Like other deeply troubled and sensitive men, McGinley began seeking answers to the problem of want in a land of seeming plenty.[4]

He found quick answers in the radio broadcasts of Father Charles Coughlin, pastor of the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak, a suburb of Detroit, Mich. Millions of Americans tuned in the famed "radio priest" of the thirties, and Father Coughlin responded with exciting messages of peace, prosperity, and plenty, delivered in a high, rasping, but infectious voice. McGinley became a devoted follower of the Radio League of the Little Flower, and a subscriber to *Social Justice*, an inflammatory weekly newspaper offering wondrous cure-alls for the economic storm that had darkened the nation.

But Father Coughlin went beyond recommending panaceas to solve a domestic crisis. His outspoken admiration for the Axis nations abroad and for pro-Nazi and pro-fascist forces at home, plus his irresponsible tirades against "international bankers," brought a storm of protest and his eventual silence by his superiors.[5]

McGinley entered defense work in the early forties while continuing to brood heavily over the fall of Father Coughlin. At the war's end he turned to publishing, bent on vindicating the "truth" of the positions taken by the Michigan priest. McGinley's "anti-Communism" is no respecter of target. The churches, the schools, the clergy, educators, public officials (including President Eisenhower), and international organizations such as the United Nations are characterized as enemies of the republic. Deep-rooted anti-Semitism frequently drives McGinley to wild distortion. The February 1, 1953, issue of *Common Sense*, for example, was devoted to the task of proving that "Jesus was not a Jew." This issue began:

> "Jesus was not a 'Jew.'
>
> "The 'Big Lie' to the contrary is the pivotal point about which rotate the antichrist forces so

[4] Information in this section was taken from numerous personal interviews with Conde McGinley.

[5] A good early study of Father Coughlin can be found in Raymond Gram Swing's *Forerunners of American Fascism* (New York, 1935). For a current and somewhat introspective view of the now politically quiescent Coughlin, see *Life* magazine, November 14, 1955, pp. 119, 120.

energetically exerted throughout the world for the total destruction of Christianity and all it represents."

Paragraphs later, McGinley portrayed the clergy as frightened victims of the "antichrist" conspiracy:

> "To a far greater extent than realized, the Christian clergy has become the hostage of the antichrist conspirators. The Christian clergy fear the renewed smear of Christianity. They know their penalty for publicly airing the 'Big Lie' that Jesus was a 'Jew.' Their fears are founded on fact. Public discussion by Christian clergy of the 'Big Lie' that Jesus was a 'Jew' would automatically set into motion a renewed smear campaign against all Christianity."

A year later, *Common Sense* published a front-page story entitled "Communism Inside Christianity," singling out the General Council of the Presbyterian Church, Dr. John A. Mackay, and Bishops Henry Knox Sherrill and G. Bromley Oxnam as the spearhead of "an open, determined struggle . . . to turn the mind of the American public and to soften the country against the current effort to expose Communism and its infiltration." [6]

McGinley coupled this assault on several of the authentic voices of Protestantism with a defense of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. The object of affection one month however may well be the object of scorn another. Six months after this defense of the Committee on Un-American Activities, McGinley reported that "pressure from Marxist organizations" might lead the committee to an investigation of *Common Sense*. He captioned this ludicrous article "Un-American Activities to Be Used by Jewish Marxists." [7]

The suggestion that "Marxist organizations" might have a pipeline to a committee chaired by Harold Velde (R., Ill.) is hardly worthy of comment, but McGinley correctly anticipated investigation of his organization and publication. On December 17, 1954, the Committee on Un-American Activities issued a "Preliminary Report on Neofascist and Hate Groups." The Christian Educational Association and *Common Sense* were discussed in detail following this description:

> "*Common Sense* represents itself as 'the Nation's anti-Communist paper.' Subscriptions are sought from 'loyal and patriotic Americans' in order 'to help save our republic.'
>
> "Such patriotic claims provide poor disguise, however, for some of the most vitriolic hate propaganda ever to come to the attention of the committee." [8]

A volume would be needed to do justice to a discussion of the merit of the many investigations of the Committee on Un-American Activities. It is worth noting in passing, however, the committee's belief that neofascist and hate groups "have no place in the American scene." [9]

---

[6] *Common Sense*, February 1, 1954, pp. 1-3.

[7] *Common Sense*, August 1, 1954, p. 1.

[8] Preliminary Report, Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. December 17, 1954, p. 10.

[9] *Ibid.*

Hatred in Vermont

THE "Preliminary Report on Neofascist and Hate Groups" issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities stirred violent reactions in the nation's hate press. In Bethel, Vermont, Lucille Miller set forth her strenuous objections in the January 18, 1955, issue of *The Green Mountain Rifleman:*

"The snarling, typically Jewish piece on neofascists and hate groups put out by the expiring Velde Committee was written by some of those B'nai B'rith termites who live in the woodwork of all Government buildings.

". . . It was quoted by radio and press as though it were the result of some honest committee procedure, but actually there was no intention of holding any hearings. This sneak report was an end in itself, a Jew propaganda piece to be distributed over the nation by the franking privileges of Jew Congressmen and of those Congressmen who are not Jews but are determined to be surpassed by nobody in their service to Jews.

". . . The kosher spook who wrote this report refers to us extreme right-wing writers as 'subversive,' saying that we 'do as great a violence to our national institutions as do those on the extreme Left.'"

The editor of this publication is best known to the nation at large as the country housewife who urged several young men to violate the Selective Service law, an action which led to her conviction by a Federal jury on July 13, 1955.[10]

Sensational treatment of the case in the press, plus a number of inaccurate and distorted columns by Westbrook Pegler and George E. Sokolsky, served to arouse much sympathy.

In his widely syndicated column "Fair Enough," Westbrook Pegler charged, "By order of Judge Ernest Gibson of the United States Court for Vermont, Mrs. Miller is officially a dangerous lunatic, although her conduct in her neighborhood never had caused the slightest complaint."[11] This statement overlooks frequent and bitter criticism of Lucille Miller's activities in the pages of the *Rutland Herald*, the *Springfield Reporter*, the *Newport Express*, the *Bennington Banner*,

[10] Lucille Miller received a two-year suspended sentence, while her husband was sentenced to a year and a day and fined $1,000. Both decisions have been appealed, Manuel Miller being presently out on bail.

[11] "Fair Enough," by Westbrook Pegler, *Boston Evening American*, May 13, 1955, p. 39.

and other leading newspapers in Vermont.[12]

Pegler also charged that a "nation-wide campaign is developing to impugn the sanity of all Americans who oppose subversive political propositions of a covert ruling cult,"[13] while characterizing *The Green Mountain Rifleman* as an "anti-Communist publication."[14] Pegler found Manuel Miller "a loyal ally in a fight which she [Lucille Miller] has been waging against Communists in Vermont."[15]

Manuel Miller's armed reprisal against state and Federal authorities is better understood after a careful study of the frequent exhortations to physical and armed violence published in the pages of the well-named *Green Mountain Rifleman.*

Westbrook Pegler was not alone in covering the Millers with an anti-Communist halo. The influential Spiritual Mobilization in Los Angeles, Calif.,[16] a group that labels itself "a rallying point for clergymen who reject the collectivist philosophy implicit in socialism, welfare-statism, Communism, and all varieties of planned economy"[17] sent William Johnson, editor of its monthly organ, *Faith and Freedom,* to Vermont to interview the Millers. Johnson in turn, devoted nineteen pages of the September, 1955, issue of this magazine to "The Lucille Miller Story." With the aid of assistant editor Thaddeus Ashby, Johnson concluded his sympathetic handling of the case with this observation:

> "The Millers have run up against a machine and most people defend the machine—not those brave souls it crushes."[18]

Johnson, of course, found many local sympathizers of the Millers, for he was, after all, writing a sympathetic account of the case.

This treatment of the case shocked Harland G. Lewis[19] in particular. Writing in the November 16, 1955, issue of *The Christian Century,* Mr. Lewis described Spiritual Mobilization as a "conservative political and economic group which has grown out of the efforts of James W. Fifield, minister of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles," and accused the group of "extolling Manuel and Lucille Miller as martyrs to the whole leftist tendency of our time." Mr. Lewis wrote:

> "All Mrs. Miller's cries that she is being persecuted for her attacks on the Administration and public officials and for her anti-Communism have no evidence to support them in the basic facts of this case. That she represents a poisonous virus in the body politic seems clear. Even some right-wing groups sense this. Spiritual Mobilization, for example, seems embarrassed at finding itself so heartily in accord with a right-wing exponent who is also openly anti-Semitic. The handling of this matter in the September issue of

[12] For an excellent summary of press criticism of Lucille Miller, see "Hatred in the Vermont Countryside," by Bill Schofield, *Boston Traveler,* September 10, 1953.
[13] Westbrook Pegler, *op. cit.,* p. 39.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] Spiritual Mobilization, 1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 17, Calif.
[17] Statement taken from descriptive literature issued by Spiritual Mobilization.
[18] *Faith and Freedom,* September, 1955, p. 19.
[19] Harland G. Lewis is pastor of the Church of Christ (Congregational) at Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

Faith and Freedom on 'The Lucille Miller Story' is both ludicrous and frightening, especially when this group seeks to speak for the 'Christian' right wing in politics and economics. What we are dealing with here seems to be a case of native, small-town American fascism—anti-Jew, anti-Communist, anti-Administration."

A Trio of "Christian" Movements

Conde McGinley's Christian Educational Association enjoys no monopoly in so far as the use and abuse of the "Christian" and "anti-Communist" symbols are concerned. The aforementioned *First National Directory* of "rightist" organizations, published by Liberty & Property, abounds with names of organizations evoking Christianity in one breath only to debase it in the next. Three of these are worth noting before moving to a discussion of influential rightist movements in the anti-internationalist field. They are: (1) Christian Nationalist Crusade; (2) American Council of Christian Churches; (3) American Council of Christian Laymen.

The Christian Nationalist Crusade[20]

IN AUGUST of 1948, a new "crusade" or "party" was born in the Kiel Auditorium in St. Louis, Missouri. Delegates and sympathizers, responding to invitations bearing the signature of Gerald L. K. Smith, came by bus, auto, train, and plane.

Reporting the event on August 21, 1948, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* stated:

> "Gerald L. K. Smith and his Christian Nationalist followers proceeded to attempt to form a political party after a meeting last night which began with professions of patriotism and ended with the peddling of anti-Semitic pamphlets."

This is a fairly typical press reaction to any convention or public rally sponsored by the Christian Nationalist Crusade. By no stretch of the imagination can it be said that Gerald L. K. Smith receives a good press. Some newspapers ignore him entirely, acting on the assumption that he is a publicity hound bent on drawing attention to a brand of vicious and tawdry demagoguery without equal in the United States.

Smith often alludes to the press in his talks. In his first major address as the director of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, Smith cried:

[20] Christian Nationalist Crusade, P.O. Box 27895, Los Angeles 27, Calif.

"Why can't we get radio, why don't they quote a whole speech by me once in a newspaper? I'll tell you why the newspapers won't quote what I say tonight, because practically every regular guy in the city of St. Louis would like what I'm saying tonight. But there are about two hundred Jew storekeepers in this town who pay for that newspaper who wouldn't like what I'm saying here tonight." [21]

The Christian Nationalist Crusade rests on "Ten High Principles," which are frequently restated in the heavy flow of literature from the headquarters office in Los Angeles. The first of these "principles" opens the doors for campaigns of overt anti-Semitism, while the fourth "principle" states the "authority" for assaults on the Negro community:

(1.) "Preserve America as a Christian nation, being conscious of the fact that there is a highly organized campaign to substitute Jewish tradition."

(4.) "Maintain a government set up by the majority which abuses no minority and is abused by no minority. Fight mongrelization and all attempts being made to force the intermarriage of the black and white races."

Christian imagery permeates the literature of the Christian Nationalist Crusade. An especially dramatic example of this occurred when Gerald L. K. Smith utilized the front cover of the December, 1955, issue of *The Cross and the Flag* to state, "I believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God." These words were scrawled in large black letters against a white background, beneath which Smith applied his signature in sweeping longhand.

In an editorial extolling the virtues of a segregated society, the director of the Christian Nationalist Crusade suggests to his readers that the doctrine of white supremacy has a Scriptural basis. Under an editorial captioned "The Washington Exodus," Smith wrote:

"While in Washington, D. C., the last time, I made a careful study of the race situation in the nation's capital. Under the lash of the White House 'big stick' wielded by President Eisenhower and his advisers, little white children are being forced to attend schools overrun by blacks. Imagine a situation where three or four little white girls are compelled to sit in the classroom with fifteen or twenty, or even forty or fifty Negroes. It is a violation of decency, tradition, patriotism, and Christianity itself. The Lord never intended that we should do such crude and vicious things. It is a repudiation of the civilization that 2,000 years of self-improvement has given the white race." [22]

Owing to his skill as a public speaker and his ability to exploit both existing and latent bigotry, Gerald L. K. Smith continues as one of America's leading extremists. His Christian Nationalist Crusade annually reports an income well in excess of one hundred thousand dollars.[23]

[21] Address of Gerald L. K. Smith, Kiel Auditorium, St. Louis, Mo., August 20, 1948.

[22] *The Cross and the Flag*, January, 1955, p. 8.

[23] In the last Presidential race, the CNC reported receipts of $210,482.37, expenditures of $203,908.96, to the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

American Council of Christian Churches[24]

THE American Council of Christian Churches was organized in September of 1941. Carl McIntire, pastor of the 1,600-member Bible Presbyterian Church in Collingswood, N. J., is unquestionably the dominant figure in this movement. He served as the Council's first president, edits the weekly *Christian Beacon*, and presently holds the office of president in a sister organization, the International Council of Christian Churches.[25]

The total membership of the American Council of Christian Churches is difficult to determine. The Bible Presbyterian Churches of which McIntire is the acknowledged leader, has a membership numbering less than 8,000, but generally speaking there is little data published on the sects making up the membership of the Council. Ralph Lord Roy, a careful student of Protestant fringe groups promoting hate and disruption, has published a table showing the approximate picture of the denominations making up the American Council of Christian Churches, beneath which he commented:

> "If the claims of the constituent denominations are accepted at face value, these figures total approximately 170,000." [26]

On June 30, 1936, McIntire was officially deposed from the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. He was found guilty on three counts:

1. Disapproval, defiance, and acts in contravention of the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

2. Not being zealous and faithful in maintaining the peace of the Church.

3. Violation of his ordination vows.[27]

Many clergymen feel that this action best explains McIntire's deep-seated hostility toward the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., the number one target of the American Council of Christian Churches. In pamphlet upon pamphlet, McIntire and his colleagues in the American Council heap abuse and ridicule on the loyalty, the faith, and the integrity of the leaders of the National Council of Churches, the main body of the Protestant ecumenical movement in the United States.

A separate volume would be required to list all the charges leveled at the National Council of Churches by the McIntire faction. A sampling from a widely circulated pamphlet

[24] ACCC, 15 Park Row, New York 7, N. Y.
[25] ICCC, Box 218, Collingswood, N. J.
[26] *Apostles of Discord*, The Beacon Press, 1953, pp. 397, 398.
[27] *Minutes* of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1936, Part I, p. 92.

entitled *What Is Wrong with the National Council?* is sufficient, however, to indicate the tenor of this sniping campaign:

Page 16: "Some of the National Council's sex literature, put out under their own imprimatur, has been of a depraved nature, clearly contrary to the moral code of the Bible, and as such certain to do untold harm to the Protestant youth of America.

" . . . This literature has been condemned by the *Sunday School Times* because of its 'vile suggestiveness.' Its authors are being charged by others, as well, with being guilty of a calculated attempt to destroy Christian standards of decency by encouraging free love."

Page 17: "The National Council is not putting its emphasis on the true gospel, the gospel of the shed blood of Christ, but the 'social gospel' of Karl Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. Instead of saving souls, they are trying to bring in a new world order of the Communist variety, which they have the effrontery to call the Kingdom of God. Their Kingdom of God program is nothing more than disguised socialism."

The American Council of Christian Churches is no more charitable in its criticism of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. Unlike the reasoned and temperate criticism of responsible Protestant leaders who seek to increase Catholic-Protestant understanding and unity, the leaders of the American Council of Christian Churches would have us believe that Catholicism is no less a danger to our institutions than Communism.

On September 6, 1945, Carl McIntire warned the readers of the *Christian Beacon:*

"As we enter the postwar world, without any doubt the greatest enemy of freedom and liberty that the world has to face today is the Roman Catholic system. Yes, we have Communism in Russia and all that is involved there, but if one had to choose between the two . . . one would be much better off in a Communistic society, than in a Roman Catholic fascist setup. One wonders sometimes if all the antagonism of the Roman Catholic Church to Communism . . . is not being played up especially in the United States at the present time for the purpose of gaining advantage for the Roman Catholics. . . . America has to face the Roman Catholic terror. The sooner the Christian people of America wake up to this danger, the safer will be our land."

In an eight-page folder entitled *Perils Shadowing You and Your Family!* the American Council of Christian Churches states its position toward Roman Catholicism in these terms:

"The menace of Roman Catholicism in our land is hardly less than that of godless Communism.

" . . . The work of the American Council of Christian Churches is designed to protect our Protestant heritage and freedom against the threat from Roman Catholicism."

American Council of Christian Laymen

THE National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. is also a primary target of the American Council of Christian Laymen,[28] a Madison, Wis., group whose literature is strikingly similar to that of the American Council of Christian Churches. Beyond the literature, however, there is little comparison between the two. The American Council of Christian Churches has a substantial membership while the Madison, Wis., "Council" is, in reality, the creation of a single individual, Verne P. Kaub, a former publicity agent for the Wisconsin Power and Light Company.

An excellent summary of Kaub's activities can be found in Ralph Lord Roy's *Apostles of Discord*, a full-length study of many Protestant fringe groups. Mr. Roy reports:

> "The American Council of Christian Laymen claims that it has a small mailing list of three thousand persons—who apparently share Verne Kaub's peculiar notions on politics and religion. Kaub has had amazing success, however, in propagandizing his accusations against Protestant leaderships, and his literature appears wherever divisive groups seek to promote their case against the ecumenical movement. His success in distributing large quantities of literature from his one-man headquarters in Madison is explained by his untiring devotion to his self-styled role as a champion of 'Christian Americanism.' He toils day in and day out to call attention to the charges he seeks to spread." [29]

One large, brightly colored folder issued by Kaub has endeared him to the whole network of divisive groups operating in the United States. The folder, which boldly states that "the churches rank with the schools in being the worst disseminators of socialist-Communist propaganda," bears the title *How Red Is the National Council of Churches?*

The inclusion of barbs directed against the schools is not surprising when it is borne in mind that despite the Kaub imprimatur, this folder was actually written by Allen Zoll, spearhead of the many attacks on the public schools a few years ago.

Assisting Zoll in the preparation of *How Red Is the National Council of Churches?* was Dr. J. B. Matthews, director of research for the House Committee on Un-American Activities from 1938 to 1945, and a one-time executive staff director of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations under the chairmanship of Senator McCarthy.

[28] American Council of Christian Laymen, 122 W. Washington Avenue, Madison, Wis.

[29] *Apostles of Discord*, pp. 244, 245.

After erroneously listing such non-Communist organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Committee on Militarism in Education in a network of so-called "red groups," authors Zoll and Matthews concluded that the policies of the National Council of Churches are both "un-American" and "un-Christian." They advise readers of *How Red Is the National Council of Churches?:*

> "Insist that your church stop supporting the National Council. Don't let it give one dollar. The National Council receives large sums from various Jewish and other non-Christian or anti-Christian groups, so while the withdrawal of your church's support won't put them out of business, it will hurt them. If all real Christian Churches withdrew, it would seriously cripple them."

This kind of language explains the fact that Gerald L. K. Smith has distributed thousands of copies of *How Red Is the National Council Of Churches?*, using the imprint of his Christian Nationalist Crusade.

Nationalism vs. Internationalism

WEBSTER'S dictionary defines the term nationalism as "Devotion to one's own country; support of national independence; a phase of Socialism that advocates state ownership and control of industries." The latter part of this definition would most certainly startle the leadership of organizations in the United States busily promoting "nationalism," for virtually all these groups have loudly proclaimed opposition to any and all forms of collectivism.

Anticollectivism as such is not the cornerstone of nationalist policy in the United States. Our native nationalists devote most of their time to battle with what they believe to be the number one enemy—internationalism. Almost all forms of strengthening allied security against Communist aggression and expansion are attacked by these groups. Assaults on the United Nations, UNESCO, and regional defense pacts such as NATO are common.

The aforementioned *First National Directory* of "rightist" groups and publications, issued by Liberty & Property in San Francisco, plainly recognizes the existence of these anti-internationalist campaigns. The authors of this volume label their fourth category of "rightist" organizations "anti-internationalist."

An elaborate press release issued by a group known simply as For

America,[30] underscores the anti-internationalist bias of the groups promoting "enlightened patriotic nationalism." This long release, dated November 22, 1955, called for the need to "maintain peace with honor," while destroying the "Communist conspiracy" and "socialistic bureaucracy." But on page 1, the framers of this release called attention, in large black print, to what they believe is the real "threat." This section in full reads:

> "Internationalist leadership has captured both parties. Internationalist policies threaten American independence, threaten us with bankruptcy, involve us in foreign wars, and are destroying our liberty."

Retired Army General Bonner Fellers is the national director of For America. Though not presently incorporated, the organization was originally chartered in Illinois on May 28, 1954, as a nonprofit organization. The founding fathers of For America included the late Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune,* former New York Congressman Hamilton Fish, retired chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck & Company General Robert E. Wood, writer John T. Flynn, and others well known for their isolationist views prior to the opening of World War II.

The organization was troubled from the outset concerning policy. A faction led by Clarence Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame University Law School and former chairman of the United States Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations, favored the drawing up of a corporation charter permitting tax-exempt contributions, while another faction captained by Hamilton Fish espoused direct political action.

The Manion faction prevailed and For America launched a nationwide "educational" program in the early summer of 1954. Dissidents Fish and a retired financier, John Borden, resigned to set up the American Political Action Committee at 132 Nassau Street in downtown New York. Borden, best known as the former father-in-law of Adlai Stevenson, waxed bitter over the split. In a letter to this writer dated November 13, 1954, Borden complained:

> "For America was organized on May 7; a set of principles was adopted, including one to endorse and support political candidates in 1954 and thereafter. A committee was appointed to incorporate for the purpose of carrying out the Declaration of Principles.
>
> "On May 8 a press release so stated and gave the names of the organizers. Despite this, the Committee formed an Illinois corporation on May 28 for educational purposes only.
>
> " . . . As soon as Hamilton Fish and I found this out we protested and then, finding our protests were in vain, we resigned. For America is now dominated by Clarence Manion who was kicked out of Notre Dame and out of Washington. Manion is a great orator but thinks words, especially his, can take the place of deeds.
>
> " . . . Not only is the original

[30] 1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

intent of For America dead but For America itself is virtually so."

Borden has proven a dismal prophet. While his American Political Action Committee is seldom heard from, For America has developed an ambitious program and has corralled some very impressive support. A ninety-eight-member "National Policy Committee" includes William F. Buckley, Jr., Hugh Roy Cullen, Donald R. Richberg, Robert Vogeler, and retired Generals George E. Stratemeyer, James A. Van Fleet, Mark W. Clark, and Albert W. Wedemeyer.

By the fall of 1955 it was evident that the Treasury Department was not going to grant For America a tax-exempt status. This led to a quick shift back to its original position. Dropping its "educational" façade, For America is now officially a "Committee for Political Action." John Borden buried his grudge and rejoined the "National Policy Committee."

The 1956 political action campaign was officially launched at Carnegie Hall in New York on Washington's Birthday. Republican Senators McCarthy and Jenner were the principal speakers, the latter urging a large crowd to help elect a "nationalist Congress" this fall. Both McCarthy and Jenner are considered "Presidential timber" by For America, along with James O. Eastland, George W. Maline, and J. Strom Thurmond. Literature distributed at the Carnegie Hall rally demanded that if the United Nations is not immediately "reorganized as an association of non-Communist states," then the United States should "withdraw" at once.

The Chicago Area and Isolationism

THE shifting of For America's headquarters from Chicago to Washington, D. C., does not mean that the famed Windy City is free of nationalist agitation. The policies of For America will be vigorously advanced by numerous organizations and the diminishing but still important impact of the *Chicago Tribune* will continue to influence some public opinion in the direction of discredited isolationism.

While the majority of the active nationalist organizations prefer slogans like "Nationalism vs. Internationalism," the old cry of "America First" is occasionally heard. The Nationalist Conservative Party,[31] for example, is seeking a broad-based membership built around this famous slogan of pre-World War II isolationist sentiment. Organized in 1954 by William Wernecke, the Nationalist Conservative

[31] 6250 North Wayne Avenue, Chicago 90, Ill.

Party charges that "both the Republican and Democratic Parties have become internationalized and infiltrated by Communists, socialists, New Dealers, Fair Dealers, bureaucrats, and coarse, roughneck rabble-rousing labor leaders."

Another Chicago organization, We, the People, though not third-party-minded like the Nationalist Conservative Party, finds "internationalism" the same grave threat to our institutions. We, the People sponsored a widely publicized "Constitution Day Convention" at the Conrad Hilton Hotel on September 17, 1955. Sympathetic coverage in the *Chicago Tribune* spurred local attendance, and announcements that Republican Representatives Ralph Gwinn of New York and Timothy P. Sheehan of Chicago were to deliver addresses lent a note of Congressional distinction.

Executive director Harry T. Everingham labeled the gathering a "Convention for Political Action," explaining its need as follows:

> "Millions of patriotic Americans are fed up with the way our Government and other American institutions have been infiltrated, and all but taken over, by the left-wing forces working toward socialism and world government." [32]

A 21-point action program resulted from the September 17, 1955, conference of We, the People. In early October this program was issued in pamphlet form under the general heading "Program for Patriots." Point 1 endorsed the principle of "States' rights," emphasizing the need for local control of the "conduct of schools" and "racial matters." We, the People's policy makers then lashed taxation, treaty-making powers, spending, Communism, socialism, foreign aid, and in point 16 reduced the complex issues of American foreign policy to these terms:

> "For years our foreign policy has been against the interests of the United States. Our betrayal of Nationalist China led to the Korean War with 150,000 American casualties. Our continued appeasement of Communist enemies will cause still further injury to this country and endanger our existence as a free nation. We should without further delay withdraw from the United Nations, demand removal of the United Nations Headquarters and all its agencies from American soil, and terminate diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and her satellites."

[32] From preconvention folder *Your Place in History*, We, the People, 111 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago 2, Ill.

Operation Desegregation

Your attention is urgently called to the communication from the Stated Clerk and the Questionnaire on racial integration in Presbyterian churches which appeared in *Monday Morning*, March 12, 1956.

The Department of Social Education and Action has been directed to report the results of this study to the 168th General Assembly in May.

It is of the utmost importance that every active pastor co-operate by filling out and returning the Questionnaire promptly to this Department.

Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club

THE moving of For America's headquarters to Washington, D. C., has thrust the Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club into the role of nationalist leadership in the Chicago area. Neither the Nationalist Conservative Party, We, the People, or any of the other extremist factions in Chicago can match the record of this eleven-year-old group housed in a building at 82 West Washington Street.

The Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club never hesitates to use the term "Republican" in describing its activities. Quotations from Abraham Lincoln and phrases like "a revitalized Republican organization" can be found in its literature. But official G.O.P. sources hold a somewhat different view, frequently repudiating and disowning this organization. In a letter dated December 21, 1955, Republican National Committee Chairman Leonard W. Hall wrote:

> "The Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club of Chicago, mentioned in your December 19 letter, is not supported or endorsed by the Republican National Committee. According to press dispatches last March, the Club was founded in 1945. It was one of the sponsors of a 'seminar' in Chicago on February 12 at which there was considerable adverse criticism of the President and the Administration policies." [33]

There certainly was "considerable adverse" criticism of the President and his Administration at this 1955 Lincoln Day "seminar" sponsored by the Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club of Chicago. But Chairman Hall might have added that there was also "considerable" attendance and "considerable" representation from the Republican side of the aisle in the United States Senate. Some 2,500 people from 32 states crowded into the Grand Ballroom of the Morrison Hotel to applaud the speeches of Senators Joseph R. McCarthy, Everett Dirksen, and George W. Malone. Richard Lloyd Jones, publisher of the *Tulsa Tribune*, was generous in his praise of the Chicago seminar. In a two-column editorial published on February 19, 1955, Jones stated:

> "From 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. every speaker at that meeting got a tremendous ovation. Senator Joe McCarthy, censured by his colleagues for being a patriot, wound up the day. Governor Bracken Lee set the place on fire at noon with

[33] To Nelson Price, Public Relations Director, The Methodist Church, 220 Underwriters Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

his terrific lashing attack on the United Nations, and the Eisenhower Administration's submission to its autocratic rule. People at this Chicago meeting rose from their seats. They screamed themselves hoarse. They were in earnest."

One might view this lively account with some skepticism, for Richard Lloyd Jones is a member of the National Policy Committee of For America, and much in sympathy with the aims of the Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club. But it is true that the people did scream themselves hoarse, and Utah's Governor Lee did deliver a slashing attack on the United Nations. Nevada Senator George Malone even suggested, "I'm in favor of letting Red China into the United Nations—giving them our seat."

Edgar C. Bundy, a former captain in Air Force Intelligence, and a traveling evangelist, is both the president and chief organizer of the Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club. His religious orientation is similar to that of the leadership of the American Council of Christian Churches and the American Council of Christian Laymen, discussed earlier in these pages.

As early as 1951, Bundy was singing the praises of the anti-National Council, anti-Catholic American Council of Christian Churches. On July 20 of that year he delivered an address entitled "Christianity or Communism?" in São Paulo, Brazil, before the Pan-American Evangelical Conference. Shortly afterward, Bundy released this address in booklet form with the following dedication on page 2:

"This booklet is dedicated to the American Council of Christian Churches and the International Council of Christian Churches, both of which were formed to raise up a standard against the apostasy and near-Communism of the National Council and the World Council of Churches.

"The American and International Councils deserve the prayers and financial support of every true Bible believer and patriotic American citizen. I heartily commend them to you for your support."

Bundy visions his Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club as a "national organization, engaged in political action on the Right," concerned with activity at the "national, state, city, and precinct level." He warns that this is the "only method by which this country can be saved from socialism, Communism, internationalism, and all other foreign isms."

The official position of this movement can be found in the current 8-page prospectus folder issued by Bundy under the title "The Organization YOU Have Long Been Waiting For." No names are named, no evidence is forthcoming, yet Bundy charges that the American people are being sold out to "Internationalism and Marxian Socialism." This wholly unproven charge is coupled with a plea to halt "leftist control of key Government positions" and to "recapture the leadership of the Republican Party for the conservatives."

"United States Day"

In the summer of 1953, a small group of nationalist leaders in Tulsa, Okla., hit upon an idea quite apart from any conceived by their like-minded colleagues in other cities. Anxious to find some way to discredit the annual observance of United Nations Day each October 24, this group, led by a local businessman named W. L. Foster, decided to sponsor "United States Day" each October 23.

The group quickly issued a four-page folder raising the question of "Why October 23 Should Be Observed Throughout the Country as United States Day." This began:

> "It is fitting that at the very time when the internationalists are flooding our country with propaganda urging churches, colleges, schools, womens' clubs, civic organizations, etc., to support the godless, alien-controlled United Nations, we pause to reflect and be thankful that we are still a free people, and rededicate ourselves to the preservation of a free and unfettered United States of America."

On July 22, 1953, the group, now known officially as the United States Day Committee, Inc., wired the President seeking his blessings for the first observance of "United States Day."

> "The United States Day Committee respectfully requests you to designate October 23, 1953, United States Day, for the purpose of asking the American people to rededicate themselves to preserving and maintaining intact the sovereignty of the United States as a nation under the Constitution, free of limitations by treaty or supergovernment."

The request was turned down by President Eisenhower, and his refusal to proclaim "United States Day" seriously hampered the initial efforts of the Tulsa group. Beyond a widespread distribution of anti-United Nations literature, little was accomplished in 1953.

The following year the base of this operation was considerably broadened. In its *Annual Report*, dated October 29, 1954, the United States Day Committee, Inc., gratefully acknowledged the guidance and support of a New York lobbying group known as the National Economic Council, Inc.[34]

> "United States Day, 1954, received its biggest impetus this year when the National Economic Council, under the leadership of Merwin K. Hart, conceived the

[34] Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y.

idea of taking hold of the grass-roots efforts begun in 1953 by the Tulsa Committee and expanding them into a nation-wide movement.

" . . . The National Economic Council advanced the first money for the operation of the United States Day drive, and underwrote the entire venture. Funds in the approximate amount of $6,000 were received. Costs of the promotion exceeded this income by some $2,000."

Robert T. LeFevre, a vice-president of the National Economic Council, Inc., was appointed executive director of the United States Day Committee in 1954. Another Council vice-president, retired Marine Corps General Pedro A. del Valle "gave unstintingly of his time in the State of Maryland and was instrumental in securing fine newspaper publicity." [35]

The appointment of LeFevre to the post of executive director proved a shrewd move. Recalling the refusal of President Eisenhower to recognize United States Day in 1953, LeFevre decided to tone down the assault on the United Nations. Outlining the strategy employed, LeFevre wrote:

> "The United States Day Committee was developed along positive, constructive lines. We attacked no one. We placed the entire tone of the campaign at a patriotic level.
>
> "It was thought by most that if we approached the promotion on this basis we would secure the widest results and stir up the least possible antagonism." [36]

The governors of Oklahoma, Georgia, Wyoming, South Dakota, Illinois, Mississippi, Utah, Indiana, Nevada, Kansas, Florida, and Texas proclaimed October 23, 1954, as "United States Day." The mayors of 109 cities, including Detroit, Mich., Indianapolis, Ind., Baton Rouge, La., Dallas, Tex., Los Angeles, Calif., and Stamford, Conn., did likewise.

LeFevre's approach to public officials was innocuous. He requested little more than a patriotic observance, omitting entirely any derogatory references to the United Nations. But in the flow of literature from his office in Greenwich, Conn.,[37] the United Nations was again described as "alien-controlled" and "godless." One widely distributed folder contained this passage:

> "Men and women in the highest places of honor have fallen prey to the propaganda of the internationalists; well-meaning churchmen and educators have been hoodwinked into joining forces with the enemies of our national independence." [38]

This coalescence with the National Economic Council, Inc., helped to establish the United States Day Committee, Inc., as a permanent and effective organization. At the same time it fully revealed the willingness of the Tulsa nationalists to join hands with an organization

[35] *Annual Report*, United States Day Committee, Inc., October 29, 1954, p. 6.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[37] LeFevre employed P.O. Box 1107 in Greenwich, Conn., at this time. His permanent residence is in Colorado Springs, Col.

[38] Folder entitled *Why October 23 Should Be Observed Throughout the Country as United States Day*, U. S. Day Committee, Inc., Box 353, Tulsa, Okla., p. 2.

lobbying to rid the United States of the United Nations. The National Economic Council, Inc., in its descriptive literature acknowledges that it seeks to "Get the United States out of the UN and the UN off American soil." One folder entitled *National Economic Council, What It Is, What It Does,* charges that the "UN was promoted as a 'peace' organization. It has utterly failed at this—in fact it has promoted war."

However absurd these charges may sound, they are mild in comparison to some of the attacks on the United Nations launched by the National Economic Council, Inc. Writing in the *Economic Council Letter* of June 1, 1948, president Merwin K. Hart charged flatly that the Zionists had established the United Nations:

> "Indeed, it becomes increasingly clear that these un-American elements [the Zionists] were the real architects of UN and its mischievous alphabetical agencies. They are back of the attempted socialization of American industry, of the illegal immigration of perhaps a million of European and Asiatic undesirables, of FEPC, and other vicious bureaucratic controls.
>
> "These elements are attempting to bring all American life under absolute domination. They are the only enemy America need fear. They are the only threat to peace."

This thinly disguised anti-Semitism was not overlooked by the House Select Committee on Lobbying of the 81st Congress. After a long and thorough investigation, the committee found the National Economic Council, Inc., guilty of "appeals to religious prejudice, often an ill-concealed anti-Semitism."

Emboldened by its successes in 1954, the United States Day Committee, Inc., campaigned enthusiastically last year. The National Economic Council placed seven members on the "Advisory Committee" of twenty (including Merwin K. Hart), insuring a high degree of control of the United States Day Committee, Inc., but the direct leadership was turned back to the original Tulsa founders.

LeFevre's successor, Harry H. Calvin, opened the 1955 campaign with a long, two-page appeal letter dated May 10. In paragraph 2, he stated:

> "The purpose of United States Day, as you know, is to revive the sleeping spirit of patriotism by reminding ourselves of the blessed heritage of freedom we still enjoy in this independent republic, and to arouse our people to the present danger of losing our freedom to a world government, which is the aim of the United Nations and of the internationalists and aliens who control that organization."

"United States Day" was observed in 16 states and 175 cities last year.

It may be expected that pressure to make October 23 an official national holiday will continue unabated. In an election year the temptation is great to accept support from whomever it is proffered. It will be interesting, to say the least, to see how much is conceded to the extremist groups by the right wings of both parties in order to secure victory at the polls.

What Is the Responsibility of the Churches?

But if the watchman sees the sword coming and does not blow the trumpet, so that the people are not warned, and the sword comes, and takes any one of them; that man is taken away in his iniquity, but his blood I will require at the watchman's hand." (Ezek. 33: 6.)

Let it be noted that Christians may sincerely disagree on what is the responsibility of the Churches in analyzing the various pressure groups. Perhaps *most* of us would agree, however, that, at the very least, the Church in every time and place is called to be "watchman." To be a watchman is to know what time it is, what is going on, and when danger threatens. The good watchman sounds the alarm and comes down from the wall to confront the intruder.

Whether or not the extremist movements represent dangerous intrusion into the *corpus Christianum* may be ultimately a matter of individual decision. However, Christian decision is made not in a vacuum but in the context of a *situation* and the gospel message of redemption *illumines* the situation. It is the Word by which the watchman confronts both friend and foe.

One question before churchmen today is this: Given our situation in a world caught up in a vast revolution for freedom, security, and human dignity—given the pronouncement of the faith that "for freedom Christ has set us free," what shall we do? What shall be the response of the Church not only to atheistic Communism on the left, but also to a heretical anti-Communism on the right?

The pastor of a church in a community where these forces are operative in one form or another has, to begin with, a problem of communication and conversation. His problem is one of finding the specific Word of the gospel that can answer the *words* of the superpatriots which Gordon Hall freely quotes in this issue. Through sermons, study groups, and programs that reach into the community, the local church has the task of articulating the judgment of God. This requires self-examination, and recognition of the love of God that calls to reconciliation the movements that speak from either extreme. Concerning the reactionary influences reported here, a local church may have the opportunity to minister to persecuted, outcast men and

women who have dared prophesy against the easy identification of the kingdom of Caesar with the temple of God.

A great deal more study and prayer is called for if we are courageously to proclaim the gospel and demonstrate its authenticity when the truth is cast out in favor of fear and hysteria. The following are a few study-action suggestions which we commend to church social education and action committees and other groups that desire to bear witness in this area of our concern.

1. Locate the source of the pressures for ideological conformity in your community by

(*a*) Compiling data about local patriotic and political groups—their leadership, membership, and purposes;

(*b*) Collecting a file of nationally distributed literature by writing directly to the movements whose addresses Gordon Hall has listed;

(*c*) Inviting members of various organizations (the American Legion, V.F.W., CIO-AFL, American Association for the United Nations, NAACP, American Civil Liberties Union, YWCA, etc.) to state the goals and programs of their movements;

(*d*) Analysis and discussion from a Biblical and theological basis.

2. Conduct Bible study on the meaning of Truth and Freedom from the Christian perspective. A suggested resource is the National Student Council of the YM-YWCA pamphlet *Your Freedom Is in Trouble,* by Paul Lehmann.

3. Set up a study group on Ralph Roy's *Apostles of Discord* (The Beacon Press, 1953), or Elmer Davis' *But We Were Born Free* (Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1954). This issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS may serve as study material with the addition of supplementary source material from the groups listed.

4. Make it a part of your pastoral ministry to visit extremist groups to make an appeal for the tolerance of honest dissent and an intelligent approach to problems of national security.

5. Support those who are under attack or suffering economic reprisals because of their dissent or nonconformity by

(*a*) Personal invitations to worship and fellowship;

(*b*) Invitations to air their views in an open forum of ideas;

(*c*) Writing letters of support and giving financial aid, if necessary;

(*d*) Taking positive measures to change the suppressive climate of the community.

6. Preach sermons that delineate the factors in a Christian decision regarding both Communism and anti-Communism, racism and coercive integrationism, nationalism and internationalism. Our people want help on these difficult issues of today. The Christian minister must have something relevant to say concerning them.

The Church has an inescapable duty to create a climate of opinion in a community in which there can be freedom of expression and full discussion of controversial issues. If dissenting views are suppressed by community groups, there is all the more reason for the church to be a leavening influence for freedom's cause.

Citizenship

NO SOONER had one "will he, or won't he" question been answered than Washington, along with the rest of the country, was left to ponder another—this time whether the present Vice-President will again be on the Republican ticket.

At press time, the consensus of opinion here seems to be that no definite decision has, as yet, been made on this, and that the President's deft handling of the matter may have largely presaged the situation's taking care of itself. One thing is sure: the uncertainty creates more problems for the Democrats, in that they are undecided as to where to aim their fire.

Every issue on the "Hill" these days reflects the general atmosphere of an election year and has deep political overtones. The President's decision to be a candidate again has tended to increase his influence with the members of his Party in Congress, and this will in all probability have a salutary effect on his legislative program. Those members who will be running in the election this fall and expect to benefit by having Mr. Eisenhower head the ticket, will be interested in incurring his favor.

"GI's in Foreign Prisons"—Early in March, the House Foreign Affairs Committee rejected, 19 to 10, a proposal aimed at preventing American servicemen from being tried in foreign courts and imprisoned in foreign jails. It decided to assign to a subcommittee the job of restudying this controversial proposal of Congressman Frank Bow (R., Ohio).

There seems to be considerable misunderstanding in regard to this matter. The problem arises under the NATO Status of Forces Agreement. Some persons think that in the absence of a treaty or agreement, international law would give the United States exclusive control over offenses committed by its military personnel stationed abroad. This is not true. Jurisdiction is inherent in sovereignty, and in the absence of an agreement relinquishing such jurisdiction, members of our armed forces abroad would be subject to the local jurisdiction. The purpose of the NATO Status of Forces Agreement is to give members of our military personnel abroad certain immunities or exemptions from the local law which they would not

have in the absence of an agreement.

Under the present agreement our military authorities are given a primary right to exercise jurisdiction over offenses committed in the line of duty, a right which they would not have under international law without the agreement. Although the agreement recognizes the primary right of the local authorities to exercise jurisdiction in off-duty cases, in practice the local authorities have been waiving this right in about seventy per cent of the cases. In most of the others, the offenders have been released or have received lighter sentences than probably would have been the case had they been tried in American courts. Jail sentences have been imposed in only about ninety cases.

Technically, this agreement is a multilateral, reciprocal treaty under which the fourteen NATO countries define the immunities, rights, privileges, benefits, and responsibilities of their forces stationed in all NATO countries. It was ratified by President Eisenhower for the United States on July 24, 1953, after having been approved in the Senate by a vote of 72 to 15.

Bricker Amendment—At this writing, a "simplified" version of this amendment, drafted by Senator Dirksen (R., Ill.) with the full support of Senator Bricker, has just been approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee. It now goes on the Senate Calendar, with floor action to be scheduled by agreement between Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson and Republican Leader Knowland.

On its face the "new" amendment appears innocuous, but a closer analysis reveals it to be as objectionable and undesirable as earlier versions. *The Washington Post* editorialized: "The Bricker and Dirksen amendments designed to curb the President's treaty-making power differ in one important particular. Senator Bricker's version proclaimed its purpose in rather explicit terms; Senator Dirksen's version states the same purpose in camouflaged language intended to obscure its purpose without changing the end result. This makes the amendment probably more dangerous than the bolder resolution originally concocted by Mr. Bricker. . . . It is a camouflaged maneuver designed to undermine American leadership in international affairs."

As we go to press, there has been no reaction from the White House with respect to this new version of the amendment. However, there is no indication whatever that the President has in any way changed his position of opposition to the principle involved.

Most informed observers continue to feel that there is no need for an amendment of this type, that it would interfere with our leadership and conduct of foreign policy, and that if any further safeguard is needed it could be easily handled by a simple change in the Senate rules.

Organization for Trade Cooperation—At press time, hearings are in progress before the House Ways and Means Committee over the proposed United States membership in this organization.

Five members of the President's Cabinet—Secretary of State Dulles, Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, Secretary of Agriculture Benson, Secretary of Commerce Weeks, and Secretary of Interior McKay—have all testified in favor of this. But the "protectionists" are in full cry against it, claiming it is "sneak legislation" and that it will "tie the hands" of Congress in setting tariff and trade regulations.

The President has said that our participation in O.T.C. is essential to the development of world trade among the free nations, and has made it a prime feature of his foreign economic program. The Administration also emphasizes that membership in this agency can play a major role in expanding American exports and in eliminating discriminatory restrictions. The organization would provide an administrative mechanism for the operation and enforcement of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in which the United States already participates, under Presidential authority, along with thirty-four other nations.

Despite strong opposition, the measure is expected to get committee approval. As to its fate on the "floor," sentiment from the country expressed in communications to members of Congress may well be a determining factor.

Foreign Aid—This is another issue where considerable pressure, from concerned citizens across the country, will be necessary if the President is to receive from Congress the increased support he has requested.

Admittedly, the time is overdue for a thorough re-examination and appraisal of our whole aid program. Disillusionment and impatience are rampant, both with our present concept and with its operations, at a time when the Soviet Union is just beginning to reap propaganda dividends by stepped-up activity in this field. Not since the adoption of the Marshall Plan in 1948 has there been such intense feeling on the "Hill" with respect to our whole program of assistance abroad.

Opposition is concentrating on three main aspects: the President's increased request for $4.9 billion, which is $2 billion more than Congress voted last year; the long-range commitment feature; and the problem posed by the connection between our assistance to our "Allies" and their trade in strategic materials with the Soviet bloc.

Roscoe Drummond, writing in *The Washington Post* offers a plausible approach for United States citizens to the whole matter of foreign aid. He writes: "Shouldn't our relationship with these freedom-cherishing, poverty-plagued nations be that of the most friendly, understanding senior democracy intent upon helping these new democracies to help themselves deepen their roots, guard their freedom, improve their economic lot, and fashion their own free nation in their own image in their own way—as we did?"

Helen Lineweaver,
Washington Office

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THE ANNOUNCER

Some time ago United States newsmen tried an experiment in several American cities. They asked people on the streets to read a document composed of the preambles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and to sign the document if they agreed with it. The great majority not only failed to recognize these historic words, but were afraid to sign the document because they thought it might be subversive, even treasonable.

Would a similar inquiry among Presbyterians show similar fears?

We Presbyterians have a long history of concern for civil liberties. For generations we have vigorously defended freedom of conscience and the right to hold dissenting points of view. Our Westminster Confession of Faith and the General Assembly pronouncements give us good grounds for such action.

Church officers and congregations in increasing numbers make a regular practice of studying the pronouncements of General Assembly. They have come to understand their usefulness in guiding the social witness of Christians. The pronouncements on freedom and civil liberties merit careful study as we read this current issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. There is great confusion in many minds about freedom to think and express ideas that do not conform to popular views. To counter the widespread fear of independent liberal thinking and a deep mistrust of intellectuals, our Church has a solemn duty. We must help our members to be informed, to understand the causes of fear and tension in the world, and to be armed with faith and facts to meet hard problems unafraid.